1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the
778 *katukatu-atua* plants.
533 What does the king make fertile in the country?
539 The mosses, the ferns, the *katukàtu-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of the *katukatu-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
345 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena
643 and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image
304 to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

SERVING OF FOOD

264 415 The food was served on mats or in baskets. Roggeveen (186, p. 16) tells us that the natives brought him "a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot." G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) also speaks of matted baskets "full of sweet potatoes."

482 492 493 To carry food, and, in general any burden, the Easter Islanders had carrying poles (*amo*) which they balanced on one shoulder. This means of transportation has entirely disappeared and is remembered only by the old people. Today carts or packhorses are used.

FOOD ETIQUETTE

264 Nowadays no particular custom or rite is observed at meals. The women do the cooking assisted occasionally by the men when they have time or feel like helping. No native begins to eat before he has muttered a prayer or crossed himself. Formerly a food offering was made to Haua and Makemake before meals, pronouncing the formula "Ma Haua, ma Makemake."

[782]

574 Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 233-236) describes a banquet given for him by a powerful chief of Hotu-iti. The feast was the first sign of friendship shown toward the missionaries by the natives of that part of the island. Since other chiefs on the island had already honored the missionaries with feasts, this chief felt that to maintain his dignity he must give an especially fine one. Therefore he ordered his people to fish and to gather sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and fowls in abundance.

574 264 A big oven was dug out and kindled in the morning. When the missionaries arrived they were invited to sit on four stones around the oven and mats were stretched in front of them. The chief asked the missionaries if they were ready to eat, they said that they were, and at a given signal ten men rushed toward the oven and opened it. The best pieces of food were laid on small mats and deposited at the feet of the missionaries. After this, the chief and his friends were served.

"You should have seen," writes Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 237), "the dexterity with which they cleaned the carcass of the chicken from its meat and the avidity with which they devoured the meat with the small bones . . . " To quench their thirst they chewed sugar cane.

The common people stood waiting while the honored guests ate their meal. At a signal from one of the missionaries, they came forward and helped themselves to any food left in front of the guests and in the oven. The women and children were served last. From a delicacy like chicken or fish all they got was the bones to chew and "these bones were already chewed once or twice" (81, vol. 38, pp. 126-127).

The general gaiety of the meal was spoiled by the complaint of a visiting chief that he had not been served according to the rule of etiquette. He was supported by his retainers and the quarrel almost developed into a battle.

After the meal the guests rested in the shade and the day ended with "games and diversions."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

seal's hands, but a man's face." They wanted to kill him. The king, Tangaroa, said: "I am the king, Tangaroa, I am not a seal." The people said: "No, he is a seal with a voice." 776 773 539

They assaulted him with stones. They shouted: "Haul him to the shore." They carried him to Pito-kura. They dug out an oven, put Tangaroa inside, and closed it with stones. Later they opened the oven, but the meat was still raw. They covered the oven again and they stayed there waiting. They opened the oven again, and the meat was not cooked.

The people said: "It was true, he was really a king, he was Tangaroa and not a seal. Therefore he is half raw."

The brother of Tangaroa, Teko-of-the-long-feet, saw that his brother did not come back in one month. This king of a foreign country cried for his brother. He went to search for him. He landed on the islet. He put his foot at Retu (near Vai-tea). He was looking for his brother. He lifted his foot and stepped on Poike, but he did not see his brother. "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" he asked at Rano-kao, again at Retu, and at Pui. The men of the land were afraid. He lifted his foot again at Puku-puhipuhi, the place Where-Teko-planted-his-digging-stick. He again lifted his foot beyond Poike. He asked again, "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" He asked for the last time for the king, Tangaroa. He turned back, he disappeared to the foreign country. His feet trampled on the earth, but his head reached the sky. He was always asking about Tangaroa, the king.

It is highly significant that in this myth Tangaroa appears in the form of a seal. In the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Samoa sea animals are the favorite incarnations (*ata*) of this god, for throughout Polynesia, Tangaroa was a sea god. The character of the deity is evidenced by the passage of the myth telling of Tangaroa's mana (power) over the sea and his brother's over the land.

RONGO

Rongo is mentioned in the kings' genealogy after Tangaroa and is given as the son of Tangaroa. There is no evidence that the site of Orongo was named after Rongo. 776

MAKEMAKE

The greatest god of the Easter Islanders was Makemake. He is the only one whose memory has been preserved until the present day. The first allusion to Makemake is found in the early account of Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 100):

I observed that on the day on which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went accompanying the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward onto the path and offered their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered. 776 782

This passage proves that in the middle of the eighteenth century Makemake was so important in religion that the natives were convinced that the god of the foreigners could be none other than Makemake. The offering of clothes and chickens indicates that such gifts were regularly presented to

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

776 [782] Makemake. Later missionaries confirm the statements of the Spaniards. The information given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 117-131) is especially valuable:

> Among the gods and goddesses of their mythology, our Indians acknowledge one they call the Great God, Etua, who they say is superior to all the others. Ko Makemake was his name. He rewarded the good and punished the bad. Our islanders apparently do not suspect the existence of an evil spirit and no proper name in their language expressed such a concept. In order to designate the devil, we were obliged to add to their vocabulary the word *Haporo* (devil).
>
> [782] [798] However Makemake gave orders to the men through priests, male and female. These imposters, very able ventriloquists, pretended that the great god spoke through their mouths and asked sacrifices of chickens, sweet potatoes, fish, etc. Of course everything was to the advantage of the representatives of the so-called divinity.
>
> What was more horrible was to see sometimes small children disappear: Makemake had required victims, the priests said. But as a matter of fact they had themselves killed, roasted, and eaten the sacrifice. "How happy we are," some poor mothers told us. "We are no longer afraid that our children will be taken away as formerly."
>
> Makemake manifested his anger by thunder. We were told when we came of a bad man who had been killed by lightning.
>
> The great god had no wife. As for the others I counted ten of them who lived with families as our Kanakas told us.
>
> I did not observe that our Oceanians attributed vices to the supreme god. As to the atrocities committed in his name they either did not appear as such, because of the superstitions maintained by the priests, or they were attributed to the priests whom they blamed for not being the true interpreters of the god's will.
>
> Through the will and work of the supreme god, the first man and the first woman came from the earth more or less as the plant that springs up from the soil. They had immortal souls as had all their descendants. (See also Palmer, 171, p. 774.)

Geiseler (87, pp. 31, 33) gives the following details about Makemake:

> Their religion is poor. Their principal gods are Makemake, the creator, and Haua. To these deities they offered the first products of the soil.
>
> Makemake is represented by the eggs of the birds of the island of Motu-nui on the southwest side of the Rano-kao crater and they are fetched in July, August, and September. During all the other months they are tapu. Makemake is worshipped in the form of sea birds carved in the rock or painted.
>
> Makemake is the most feared god. He kills and eats the souls of the dead when they have been bad when alive. He protects the souls of the good which under his protection after death sleep on the island . . .
>
> The principal god Makemake is not directly worshipped, but receives honors through a series of wooden images which are carried around at the feasts in honor of the god.
>
> They [the natives] do not seem to have legends or ideas about the creation of the world, the origin of the natural phenomena. Makemake made everything—the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars. They do not know apparently any more.

776 773 539 The myth transcribed below explains the origin of Makemake who was born from a skull:

> There was a priestess watching over a skull on a rock in the bay of Tonga-riki, in front of the ahu Tonga-riki. The spirit Puna of the ahu was always looking at the priestess. One day a wave came and took the skull that was watched on the rock in front of the bay of Tonga-riki. The wave swept away the skull from above; it floated. The eyes of the priestess saw the skull. She leaped to take it, she swam behind the skull which floated ahead. She arrived in the middle of the sea, she was tired, she landed

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Kena (The Gannet Woman). The female *akuaku*, in the form of birds, taught men to extract dye from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). The first bone fishhooks were made by Ure, a capricious and strange character of Easter Island folklore. An *akuaku* bird (the frigate) brought a new kind of yam as a gift to a man called Rapu.

Not all *akuaku* were well disposed toward men. In remote times the island was full of mischievous and murderous demons. Thirty of them were destroyed by a man called Raraku in a temporary fit of madness. The general slaughtering by Raraku did not relieve the land from all its devils, for tales describe monsters, like the Woman-of-the-long-arm, who were constant menaces to men until they were killed. Some demons proved helpful in difficult circumstances. Hiva-karere (The-flying-foreigner), Mata-mata-vara-vara-ahu-Raai (The-rain-with-large-drops-of-the-ahu-Raai), and Paepae-a-Tari-vera (Stone-house-of-Tari-vera) saved a famous warrior (*matatoa*), whose soul (*kuhane*) was kidnapped by another spirit.

Through old Viriamo, some information has come to us about the relations between men and *akuaku*. The spirits or gods of Viriamo's district were Tare and Rapahango. Rapahango was also the family name of my informant, Victoria, who claimed for her ancestors some association with that *akuaku*. Rapahango and Tare were especially well disposed toward the Tupa-hotu and brought their friends in this tribe food they had stolen from other people. In exchange, the *akuaku* received an offering each time an *umu* (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: "This is for such-and-such an *akuaku* . . . " I understood that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit; but Routledge (194, p. 237) got the impression that "the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only."

The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo's son that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the *akuaku* were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

These spirits were sometimes amiable and well disposed toward certain men. Natives told both Routledge (194, p. 237) and me of a man whose spirit dug his potato field for him every night. Magicians, especially sorcerers, were served by spirits who were their familiars. The servant-spirits would enter a man whom their master wished to kill or would leave their victim if ordered to do so. They would unveil the future, and foretell the issue of wars or the results of the annual egg races at Orongo.

Probably most of the spirits were mischievous and fond of playing tricks on men. Routledge believes that they were kind or harmful depending upon whether or not they were well fed. However, offerings of food were probably made only to well-known gods or to spirits having distinct personalities. Probably the tempers of the minor demons were unaffected by the conduct of men toward them.

The name *akuaku*, now used indiscriminately for lesser gods and spirits, must have meant originally only ghosts or spirits of the dead, although it is not found elsewhere in Polynesia with this meaning. Desmedt (59, p. 135) considers the Easter Island term *akuaku* cognate with the Mangarevan *akuaku*, which means "thin, speaking only of men and women." This parallel is supported by the Easter Island idea in which ghosts resemble emaciated men.

Akuaku entered the *niuhi* which were ferocious, half-legendary sharks or other dangerous sea animals. In this form they killed people. My informant probably rationalized this old belief by telling me that only bad men were prey of shark spirits. The *akuaku* also caused diseases and were expelled by priests to save their patients.

Spirits of the dead had all the features of the living, but they were emaciated, had protruding bones, and their bowels could be seen in their sunken abdomens. In a word, they were prototypes of the famous wooden images of Easter Island. Such was the appearance of the two *akuaku* whose images and culture hero Tuu-ko-ihu fixed forever in wood (p. 260). Such is still the aspect of the dead when they manifest themselves in dreams. A girl whom we knew well told us that in a nightmare she had seen her grandfather nodding to her. When he turned his face toward her, she noticed that he was half-rotted and that his bowels, in an advanced state of putrefaction, were visible.

Ghosts were especially terrifying and Roussel (190, p. 495) writes: "They seemed to fear very much the haunting souls. Very often they came for me to drive away these malignant spirits of their fathers or mothers who frightened them and tore at their bowels." Even now the *akuaku* interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an *akuaku* had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

539 773 776 If the end of the chant were not so garbled, it might give a hint as to its practical value and the circumstances in which it was recited. The last verse stresses the importance of the yam (*uhi*) and sweet potato (*kumara*), which were the staple foods of the island.

PRIESTS

793 Our knowledge of the nature and organization of the priesthood is so slight and so confused that no clear distinction may be made between the high priests and the ordinary magicians or sorcerers. It is not possible to ascertain whether the ancient priesthood was always loosely organized or whether the original institutions were forgotten after the Peruvian raid of 1862 which crushed the native civilization of the island.

Undoubtedly the gods were attended by priests, although Geiseler (87, p. 33) and Routledge (194, p. 239) declare there were no priests, and Thomson (215, p. 470) affirms that native priests were simply wizards and sorcerers. However, Roussel (190, p. 360), our best authority on Easter Island, says: "There were priests and priestesses. Their functions were reduced to very few things: to preside at the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of a child and to drive away the bad spirits of a sick man." Priests also composed and recited chants in honor of the dead. Such limited activity does not tally with the exalted social position of the priests; according to Roussel they were next in rank after the king.

793 787 782 We have already seen (p. 312) that Makemake manifested his will through male and female priests. These servants of the gods were inspired by the deity who entered their bodies and spoke through their mouths. The offerings of chickens, fish, and sweet potatoes were received by these priests, who also demanded human sacrifices. This information, although scant, shows that on Easter Island the power and duties of the priests did not differ very much from the general Polynesian pattern.

793 My informants and those of Routledge always attributed the performance of the religious and magic rites to the *ariki-paka*, who were noblemen of the Miru tribe (p. 129). While it is very likely that the chief priests were recruited from the royal or aristocratic families, it is doubtful that all the *ariki-paka* were fit for these functions.

171 793 The close association between nobility and priesthood is a common feature in Polynesian culture, many instances of which have been recorded on other islands. The tapus surrounding the *ariki* were, in many respects, analogous to those of the priests. The sacredness of kingship and nobility linked the *ariki* very closely with ceremonial life. A hint of the priestly nature of certain *ariki* functions is to be found in a statement made by Geiseler (87, p. 33) on the authority of Salmon: "In early days when the kings enjoyed important power and respect, they functioned as priests and they started and they led the religious festivities."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

RELIGIOUS RITUAL

There will always be doubt as to whether the old religious ceremonies on Easter Island were of the same complexity and importance as those of other Polynesian islands. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who stayed on the island for a long time, never saw any ceremony connected with the ahu or any other sacred place and never saw the natives in an act of religious worship. If the Orongo feasts were performed in honor of Makemake, as I believe, they are the only evidence of the god cult about which data are available. However, the ceremonies at Orongo occurred only once a year and did not represent the ordinary method of worship.

Offerings and Sacrifices to the Gods

The gods, especially Makemake, received offerings of food and tapa cloths, presented by the people through their priests. Before every meal an offering of food was made to some god, generally to Makemake and Haua, occasionally to some lesser god. According to the legend I collected, this custom was introduced by Haua and Makemake themselves (p. 313). Estella (79, pp. 29-30) records the following tale which may be a variant of the myth I obtained or it may be the result of Estella's combined ignorance and fancy:

> Atua Makemake took a man of the island who was called Peku-angoohu. As this man did not offer to the god any *umu* (earth oven) or any sacrifice, he transferred him to a far away island named Motu Matiro-hiva to punish him for his lack of religiousness. There he was obliged to look after the fish left by the tide on the shore.
>
> When the punished man did not come back after several months, his father became very sad. A man of the island went in search of Atua Makemake. As he knew that the god had gone to the island of Motu Matiro-hiva, he set out for this land. Instead of finding the god he found Peku-angoohu. "What are you doing?" he asked. "I am undergoing the pain imposed on me by Makemake." "I am looking for him. What is the reason for your punishment?" "It is because I did not offer him *umu*." "You are stupid, why do you not prepare an earth oven full of chickens, bananas, sweet potatoes, and the other things you have? You will offer them to Atua Makemake and he will have pity on you."
>
> Peku-angoohu did as he had been told and the god accepted his offering. He appeared suddenly and spoke in a friendly way with the two men. He forgave the punished man. The other one, who was good, asked the god to teach him how to make houses and implements and requested Makemake to give him horses, cows, sheep, and other things. Atua Makemake agreed to his request and the two happy men went back to Easter Island.
>
> The father of Peku-angoohu was greatly pleased to see his son again and they lived peacefully together never forgetting to make an offering of *umu* to the god.

Human Sacrifices

Under very serious circumstances, probably in times of emergency or on the occasion of an important ceremony, Makemake asked for human sacrifices. The victims were children kidnapped by the priests, prisoners, or persons who had incurred the displeasure of the king. (See 87, p. 31; 215, p. 473.)

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain rain (*he ako ki te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-val roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai koe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai koe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-val roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise incumbent on the king.

Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence on the crop.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

who was about the only able-bodied man on the island who did not participate. It was decidedly a go-as-you-please-race, every man selecting his route to the sea by the circuitous paths or directly over the face of the cliff, and many fatal falls are recorded as the result. The swim to Motu Kau Kau was a trifling matter, the chief difficulty being to return with an egg unbroken through the general scramble. 796

The *hopu* swam over to the island, supported by big bundles of reeds used as floats (*pora*). Carefully wrapped in the mats of the *pora* were provisions of all sorts which were "still hot when they landed on Motu-nui." To cross the 2 kilometers between the main island and Motu-nui was not an easy sport. The waves are generally high and often sharks haunt these waters. 796 48

On the islet, the *hopu* were provided with food which was cooked by the people gathered at Orongo and taken over to the island by servants who used *pora* for transportation. When the weather was stormy communications between Motu-nui and the main island ceased. Those who were provident dried banana and sweet potato skins in the sun to be eaten in case of emergency. 796 [261 251]

Whilst the *hopu* waited on the islet for the first *manu-tara* eggs, their masters and the members of the *ao* performed various rites at Orongo to propitiate the gods. Dances were held in front of the houses, and chants were sung for the gods by the *rongorongo* who occupied the houses at the end of the stone village, near the carved rocks. The dual political division of the island was reflected even in the abodes of the narrators during the feast. Those from Hotu-iti dwelt in the western group of houses, and those from Tuu in the houses to the east. Sometimes the king went to Mataveri to call on the people gathered there, but he never ascended to Orongo. At least that was the custom adopted by Nga-ara who was probably following an old tradition. Offerings and prayers were addressed to the gods Makemake and Haua who had created the birds and established the cult in honor of themselves. Makemake designated the man to be *tangata-manu* and thus incarnate the god. Routledge (194, p. 260) mentions *vie* Hoa and *vie* Kenatea among the deities who were worshipped at Orongo. [619] [782]

Tepano stated repeatedly that at Orongo there were many old men (*koro-kua*) who were sorcerers; they recited charms for the success of the competitors and had long talks with the gods, who entered some of the houses of Orongo. When a god was thought to be in a house, only the priest could enter and inquire about the contestant's chances of winning. While the priests tried to make the deities favorable toward those who resorted to them (*hatu o te manu kia Haua, kia kia Makemake*), the young people were busy making earth ovens, the contents of which they distributed lavishly among the priests or sent to the *hopu* on the island. Some of the food was set apart by the *ivi-atua* and consecrated to the gods with the traditional formula, "Ka too ma Haua, ma Makemake . . . " Tepano's reference to the sharp voices of the priests when they spoke to the gods is probably a personal memory of some [887] [793]

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

our oysters. When these Indians go about any job which might set their ear-plugs waggling, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance[1]. These people have well proportioned limbs, with large and strong muscles; they are big in stature, and their natural hue is not black, but pale yellow or sallowish, as we saw in the case of many of the lads, either because they had not painted[2] their bodies with dark blue, or because they were of superior rank and had consequently no need to labour in the field. These people have also snow-white teeth, with which they are exceptionally well provided, even the old and hoary, as was evidenced by the cracking of a large and hard nut, whose shell was thicker and more resisting than our peach stones. The hair of their heads, and the beards of most of them, were short, although others wore it long, and hanging down the back, or plaited and coiled on the top of the head in a tress, like the Chinese at *Batavia*, which is there termed *condé*. What the form of worship of these people comprises we were not able to gather any full knowledge of, owing to the shortness of our stay among them; we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and, thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them. At first, these stone figures caused us to be filled with wonder, for we could not understand how it was possible that people who are destitute of heavy or thick timber, and also of stout cordage, out of which to construct gear, had been able to erect them; nevertheless some of these statues were

[1] This habit is mentioned by Cook, and by Forster: see the last preceding footnote.

[2] Meaning tattooed, doubtless.

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

speech and gesture. We gave this South Lander or foreign visitor a glass of wine to drink; but he only took it and tossed it into his eyes, whereat we were surprised. I fancy he thought that we designed to poison him by its means, which is a common usage among Indians. Thereupon we dressed our new guest in garments and put him on a hat, but he was evidently very ill at ease in clothing. We also regaled him with food; but he was quite ignorant of the use of a spoon, knife, or fork. After he had taken his meal our musicians treated him to a specimen of each one of their instruments; and whenever any person took him by the hand he began at once to caper and dance about. We were much pleased to see his enjoyment; but we did not come to an anchor that day, and therefore let him go back to the shore with the aforesaid presents to acquaint his friends in what manner he had been entertained. But he parted from us unwillingly: and held up his hands, cast his glances towards the land, and began to cry out loudly in these words, *O dorroga! O dorroga!* He was not at all disposed to return to his skiff, but preferred to remain with us that we might convey him ashore in our ship. I make no doubt that, by means of the aforementioned exclamation he was appealing to his god, as we could see great numbers of heathen idols erected on shore.

We remained close under the land all night until towards morning, when we stood in in a S.E. direction towards a bay or indentation in the coast to anchor. The natives swam off in the water in thousands; some with small dinghies or skiffs brought us uncooked and baked hens, together with many roots; while on the beach they were running up and down like deer. Some were seated in groups of fifty[1] or a hundred, and looked upon our ship with wonderment: some out of mere curiosity, but others were desirous of finding out what design had brought us there. They kindled many fires by their idols, either by way of offerings or for the purposes of prayer. In the early morning we looked out and could see from some distance that they had prostrated themselves towards the rising sun and had kindled some hundreds of fires, which probably betokened a morning oblation to their gods. We thereupon got ready to effect a landing, but just then our former visitor came on board together with many others of his people, bringing

[1] This number is given in figures, but owing to a defect in the type only the o is printed. It means presumably 50.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

from sixty to five hundred. One of the voyagers goes so far as to say that "all the country was under cultivation." As for the inhabitants, they were, they tell us, of all shades of colour, yellow, white, and brown, and wore clothes made of a "field product," evidently tapa. They were "painted," which apparently signifies tattooed, and it was the habit to distend the lobes of their ears so that they hung to the shoulders, and large discs were worn in them. "When these Indians," wrote Roggeveen, "go about any job which might set their ear-plugs wagging, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance."[1]

The natives were extraordinarily thievish, stealing the caps from the seamen's heads, while one actually climbed into the port-hole of the cabin and took the cloth off the table. These habits gave rise to an unfortunate incident, as when the visitors came on shore, a scuffle took place over the sanctity of property, and the natives began throwing stones, on which a petty official gave the order to fire, ten or twelve natives being killed. The occurrence, however, was duly explained, and did not terminate amicable relations. We learn that at this time the great statues, of which this is of course the first report, were then, as has already been noted, standing and in place. The Dutchmen describe them as "remarkable, tall, stone figures, a good 30 feet in height," and notice that they have crowns on their heads; a clear space was, they said, reserved round them by laying stones. They have no doubt that the figures are objects of worship; the natives "kindle fires in front of them, and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them." Another observer adds, in connection with this worship, that they "prostrated themselves towards the rising sun." A great step would have been gained towards the solution of the problem if we could feel assured that these last remarks were justified and were not merely the result of imperfect observation.[2]

[1] Precisely the same habit obtains to-day among the Akikuyu in East Africa.

[2] For Roggeveen's description of the Island see *Voyage of Gonsalez*, Hakluyt Society, Series II., vol. xiii., pp. 3 to 26.
A statement of the evidence *re* Davis Island is given in the introduction to the same volume.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

CHAPTER XVI

NATIVE CULTURE IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES (*continued*)

Religion—Position of the Miru Clan—The Script—The Bird Cult—Wooden Carvings.

RELIGION

771 THE religion of the Islanders, employing the word in our sense, seems always to have been somewhat hazy,[1] and the difficulty in grasping it now is increased by the fact that since becoming Roman Catholics they dislike giving the name of "atua," or god, to their old deities; it only drops out occasionally. They 776 term them "aku-aku," which means spirits, or more frequently "tatane," a word of which the derivation is obvious. The confusion of ideas was crystallised by a native, who gravely remarked that they were uncertain whether one of these beings was God or the Devil, so they "wrote to Tahiti, and Tahiti wrote to Rome, and Rome said he was not the Devil, he was God"; a modern view being apparently taken at headquarters of the evolution of religious ideas. Both these words, tatane and aku-aku, will be employed for supernatural beings, without prejudice to their [128] original character, or claims to divinity; some of them were certainly the spirits of the dead, but had probably become deified; the ancestors of Hotu-matua were reported to have come with him to the island. They existed in large numbers, being both male and female, and were connected with different parts of the island; a list of about ninety was given, with their places of 776 residence. No worship was paid, and the only notice taken 782 of these supernatural persons was to mention before meals 264 the names of those to whom a man owed special duty, and

[1] Our impressions on this head are confirmed by a remark of Brother Eyraud. "Though I have lived in the greatest of intimacy and familiarity with them, I have never been able to discover them in any act of actual religious worship."—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Jan. 1866.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

invite them to partake; it was etiquette to mention with your own the patron of any guest who was present. There was no sacrifice; the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only. Nevertheless, the aku-aku, in this at least being human, were amiable or the reverse according to whether or not they were well fed. If they were hungry, they ate women and children, and one was reported as having a proclivity for stealing potatoes; if, on the contrary, they were well-disposed to a man, they would do work for him, and he would wake in the morning to find his potato-field dug, which, as our informant truly remarked, was "no like Kanaka."

The aku-aku appeared in human form, in which they were indistinguishable from ordinary persons. One known as Uka-o-hoheru looked like a very beautiful woman, and was the wife of a young Tupahotu who had no idea she was really a tatane. She lived with him at Mahatua on the north coast, and bore him a child. One very wet day she was obliged to leave the house to take fresh fire to the cooking-place where it had gone out. When she returned, her husband was angry that she had no red paint on her face, and, not heeding her explanation that the rain had washed it off, took a stick to beat her. She ran away, and he followed, till at last she sat down on the edge of the eastern headland, where there is now an ahu known by her name. When by and by he came up, she told him to go back and look after the child, and fled away like a rushing whirlwind over the sea and was no more seen.

Two other female tatane are reported to have lived together in a cave on the cliff-side of Paréhé,[1] whose names were Kava-ara and Kava-tua. They heard all men tell of the beauty of a certain Uré-a-hohové, a young man who lived near Hanga Roa; so they went down to see him, put him to sleep, and carried him on his mat up to their cave, where they left him. Before going away they told an old woman, also an aku-aku, that she was not to go and look into the cave. This she naturally proceeded to do, and, finding Uré, warned him to eat nothing the two tatane might give to him, supplying him herself with some

[1] The outermost of the three hillocks on the eastern volcano on which the Spaniards set up the crosses in 1770. Half of it has been worn away by coastal erosion (fig. 78).

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

the first canoe landed. It is unique in having a sandy shore, and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of low hills. Behind it to the west rises the high central ground of the island, beyond it, on the other side, is the eastern plain; it thus approximately terminates the strip of land held by the Miru (fig. 97). There are now at Anakena the remains of six ahu, a few statues, and the foundations of various houses. Ngaara held official position for the whole island, but he was neither a leader in war, nor the fount of justice, nor even a priest; he can best be described as the custodian of certain customs and traditions. The act most nearly approaching a religious ceremony was conducted under his auspices, though not by him personally. In time of drought he sent up a younger son and other ariki-paka to a hill-top to pray for rain: they were painted on one side red, on the other black with a stripe down the centre. These prayers were addressed to Hiro, said to be the god of the sky, a supernatural being in whom we seem getting nearer the idea of a divinity, as distinct from a spirit of the dead, and of whom we would gladly have learnt more than could be discovered.

The ariki-paka had other duties besides praying for rain; they made "maru," or strings of white feathers tied on to sticks, which they placed among the yams to make them grow. They buried a certain small fish among the sugar-canes to bring up the plants, and when a koro was being held, and it was consequently particularly desirable that the fowls should thrive, an ariki-paka painted a design in red, known as the "rei-miro," below the door of the chicken-house (fig. 115).

Te Haha, the "social success," who was an ariki-paka in the entourage of Ngaara, gave graphic descriptions of life at Anakena when he was a boy. If, he said, people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with maru, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results.

Ngaara never consumed rats, and one day, coming across the boy watching rats being cooked, he was extremely angry, for it transpired that, if Te Haha had eaten them, his power for producing chickens would have diminished; presumably because he would have imbibed ratty nature, which was disastrous to eggs and young chickens. The Ariki, however, made himself useful to him on occasion. The younger Miru had long hair reaching to his heels, and one day, when he was asleep in a cave, some one cut it